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Lenopi ("Delaware" of New Jersey) at Wheelock's Indian School in Connecticut

Marshall Joseph Becker

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SARAH P. SPORTMAN, Ph.D.,
Editor

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LENOPI (“DELAWARE” OF NEW JERSEY) AT WHEELOCK’S INDIAN SCHOOL IN CONNECTICUT

Marshall Joseph Becker

INTRODUCTION

When a Lenopi (“Delaware” Indian from southern New Jersey) named John Skickett (1823? – after 1870) arrived in Connecticut, via New York, in the mid-nineteenth century he had relocated to continue his basket making trade. He was not the first Lenopi from his tribe in southern New Jersey to settle in that area of New England (Becker 2014b, see also 2011). A century earlier, the first of seven Lenopi children had been sent to school at a location then known as Lebanon Crank (now Columbia, but hereafter identified as Lebanon), in the colony of Connecticut (Lavin 2013:343). The story of their quest for a formal education is part of the complex history of one Native American tribe; a history that remains to be further extracted from the rich historical records.

Formal instruction for Native Americans seeking a European-style higher education placed these children within a system that long had been primarily devoted to training future Christian clerics and missionaries. The effort to train Native-born clerics born among various aboriginal populations can be traced back to the early days of Harvard College. Founded in 1636, the College struggled financially until The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England granted funds specifically for the education of Indians. In 1655 the Indian College building was erected and then served a number of functions during the few decades before it was torn down (see Morrison 1936: 340-360).

By the 1700s, sporadic efforts had been made to provide Indians with a formal education at several college preparatory schools. One of them, Moor’s Charity School, began in Connecticut in 1754, with mixed success. During its early years of operation a total of seven students known to be from the Lenopi tribe attended (Figure 1). None enrolled after the school’s relocation to Hanover, New Hampshire in 1770. The present study examines the known records for these Lenopi children, incorporating some previously unpublished letters. This opens the way to consider how these students and their families operated within the colonial society engulfing them.

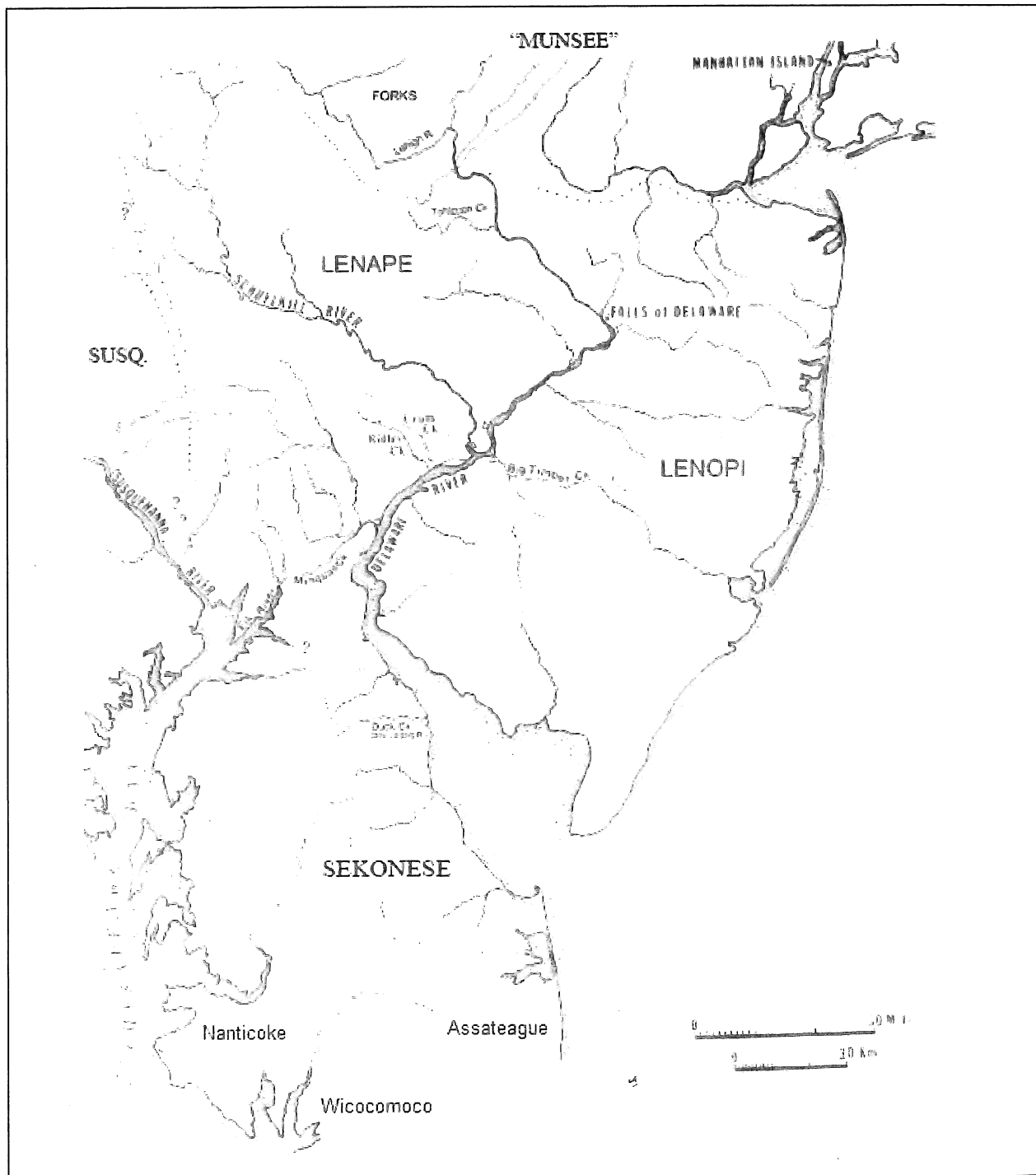


Figure 1: Map of the Delaware River drainage delineating the territories of the four distinct tribes commonly called "Delaware."

BACKGROUND

Eleazar Wheelock (1711-1779) played an interesting role in colonial efforts to provide a European education to children from a number of Native tribes. As a 1733 graduate of Yale College, Wheelock had by 1735 taken up a post as a Congregationalist minister in a small village

now known as Lebanon, Connecticut, located about 25 miles to the northeast of New Haven. After some years, his ultimate material success in that post was considerable (McCallum 1932). In 1743 a Mohegan by the name of Samson Occom arrived from the nearby area of New London, in the Thames River drainage, and studied with Wheelock until 1748, several years before Wheelock established a formal school. Wheelock's success in educating the brilliant Occom in the classics led to Occom's subsequent achievements as a missionary to various Indian communities. Occom's achievements may have stimulated Wheelock's interest in providing formal training to other interested Native children who could then continue their educations at various colleges. The goal was to have them serve as missionaries to Native communities, following in the steps of Samson Occom.

The basic preparation for college admission was far more than an assumed fluency in English. Following the Harvard model, where the admissions statement of 1642 set forth the basics (Springer 2017: 173), Yale College in 1745 required that prospective students be able "Extempore to Read, Construe, and Parse Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament: and to write True Latin Prose" (Springer 2017: 173). These were the admission rules when Wheelock attended Yale, and they continued long after at both institutions. In 1800 Yale's rules stated that:

"Candidates for admission into the College, shall be examined by the President, ... and no one shall be admitted, unless he be found able to read, translate, and parse Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament, and to write true Latin in prose; and shall also ..." meet other requirements (President 1800: 8-9).

Wording similar to Harvard's original rules of 1642 appear repeatedly among the requirements for emerging American colleges, indicating that all these institutions held to a largely unchanged idea as to what constituted a university education. These rules continued well into the nineteenth century. "In 1816, when Horace Mann applied for entrance to Brown University, he faced remarkably similar requirements: the ability 'to read accurately, construe, and parse Tully and the Greek Testament and Virgil... [and] to write Latin in prose...' (Richard 1894: 19).

In 1754 Wheelock took into his Connecticut home "two Delaware Indian boys" selected and sent by the Rev. John Brainerd (1720-1781) to study with him. John Brainerd had graduated from Yale in 1746, years after Wheelock had attended, but the clerical community in the American colonies was not large and their academic relationships were relatively coherent. The boys sent to Lebanon were to be provided with instruction along with White students at the school that Wheelock had founded in 1754. These two boys came from among the members of the Lenopi tribe still resident in southern New Jersey, where many members had become highly acculturated. The specific tribal origin of these two young men was not indicated by Brainerd, but research has identified their families as Lenopi (see Becker 2008, see also 1998). The Lenopi were then, and still are, commonly referred to as "Delaware," a misleading European appellation that tends to confuse them with several other Native groups. The Lenopi are now recognized as distinct from three other aboriginal tribes once resident along the Delaware River and Bay (Lenape, Sekonese, and "Munsee") to whom that same English name was generally applied (cf. Becker 1983). In the early literature, the Lenopi often were identified as "Jerseys" or "Jersey Delaware Indians," neither term being derived from their own language, but still distinguishing them from all their Native neighbors. These two Lenopi boys were Wheelock's first Native pupils, and the first of seven "Delawares" sent to him by John Brainerd. All these students now can be recognized as Lenopi and their stories have yet to be told.

David Brainerd (1718-1747) and his brother John were trained at Yale College. David had been sent to southern New Jersey by a missionary society to preach among the “Delaware” of that region. David died after only three years of service. His duties were then assumed by his younger brother John. In later years John Brainerd briefly expanded his sphere of preaching beyond the western frontier, as then defined by the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. He invariably associated with Lenopi groups, but never with Lenape. He never learned the Lenopi or any other Native language. The two children sent to Connecticut by Brainerd in 1754, soon after the school opened, have long been recognized as Jacob Woolley and John Pumshire [Pumpshire] (see McCallum 1932: 29-31, 249). They walked the 200 miles to Lebanon, arriving at Wheelock’s a week before Christmas (Hoefnagel 2002: 19, in Calloway 2010: 5).

The year 1754 also witnessed increasing numbers of confrontations between colonists and various Native peoples then living in the northern and western frontier zones of Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Those colonial populations that were unofficially settling in Indian country became obvious targets of attacks by Native marauders. Because New Jersey south of the Raritan River was an area of relative calm, the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey made efforts to maintain the peace by taking steps to settle land claims and otherwise cement alliances with their resident Indian populations. These arrangements led the colony of New Jersey to purchase some 3,000 contiguous acres of land in southeastern New Jersey from several colonists, and then to transfer ownership collectively to interested Lenopi who were resident in the region. During this same period the government in Pennsylvania took steps to relocate the few Lenape-descent people then living among the Quaker farmers to southern New Jersey (Becker 1993), a protective measure that lasted throughout the period of the French and Indian War (ca. 1755-1763).

Beginning in 1733, several Lenopi families and at least one entire Lenopi band began to relocate into the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania (Becker 1986, 1987; see also 1992). By the 1750s, several of the many Lenopi families who continued to thrive in southern New Jersey had adopted many European behaviors. The numerous Lenopi land sales to the Proprietors of both East and West Jersey, and subsequent documents regarding titles to lands cleared by individual colonists from their Lenopi Indian owners, reveal the early use of English writing and the acquisition of surnames by the early 1700s. For example, the Native referred to as “Nummy” in the records appears as “Tom Nunimi” on a land sale from 30 April 1688 (Becker 1998: 59). It’s not surprising that by 1754 various of the many Lenopi who continued to be resident in New Jersey might wish to secure a “formal” (English-style) education for their children, male and female. In addition, residual anti-Indian sentiment by some of their neighboring colonists during those years may have provided additional motivation to these families to send their children off to secure an English-style education. The sparse relevant records identified to date indicate that several Lenopi may have received formal education at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), located in the heart of former Lenopi territory, but this has yet to be documented. Perhaps the lack of a basic grammar school education among the Lenopi led Brainerd to direct some of the local children to Eleazar Wheelock. Wheelock’s efforts to include Native pupils prompted a neighbor in Connecticut, Col. Joshua More of Mansfield, to endow the school with two acres of land and the several buildings on it. The school thus became known as “Moor’s [sic] Charity School.” This school also was known as Moor’s Indian Charity-School although seven white boys also were being educated there at that time. Samuel Kirkland of Norwich is perhaps the best known of these young colonial scholars.

The seven “Delaware” (Lenopi) children whom Rev. John Brainerd sent from southern New Jersey to Lebanon, Connecticut between the years 1754 and 1762 (Dartmouth 1757b) are

listed by McCallum (1932). By 1754 various post roads and sections of the King's Highway through New Jersey, and then up to Boston, were well marked trails. One of these passed through the northwestern portions of Lenopi territory, and Princeton, NJ (Becker 2018: passim, also 2015). The boys traveled a prescribed route to the school, stopping at specific locations where they would be fed and sheltered (Dartmouth 1757a). This was a route planned by Brainerd, who remained linked with Yale College.

When Eleazar Wheelock moved to Hanover, NH in 1769-1770 he developed a new and much enlarged educational venture that later became known as Dartmouth College, named for its benefactor William, Earl of Dartmouth. Wheelock also relocated the Charity School for Indians with the hope that it would become a feeder institution for the College. The Archives at Dartmouth College include numbers of documents that make specific mention of the Lenopi who were involved in Wheelock's educational endeavors (see McCallum 1932). Portions of these archives have been reviewed for data on the Indians who were involved with this series of schools. Calloway (2010) offers an overview and James Axtell (1984) has extracted interesting data regarding the various Iroquoians who attended Moor's Charity School. These works reveal some clues to the presence in Lebanon of these Lenopi students. In 1757 a Pequot and two more "Delawares" arrived in Lebanon. In 1761 the first Native woman, a Mohegan, joined the male students followed by one "Delaware" woman. A writing sample of Hezekiah Calvin [1748-?], at age 11 and dated 19 Nov. 1759 (Dartmouth 1759) indicated that this young member of the well-known Calvin family of Lenopi had joined Wheelock about that time (see below).

Letters from the Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College Archives

McCallum (1932:255) identifies a "Delaware" named Jacob Woolley in several of the Wheelock Papers in Dartmouth (WP: 763659, 763666.2, and also 769209.2; see also Axtell 1984: 60). Following Axtell's lead, I extended a stay at a conference in Hanover to have time to transcribe these documents in the Dartmouth College archives. Now, some 15 years later, I've entered my hand-written transcriptions into this present publication. The two letters in the Dartmouth Archives relate to an episode in 1763 during which Jacob Woolley (also Wooley) was tested in his faith and seemed to disrupt the possible calling that Eleazar Wheelock had in mind for him. Woolley had been with Wheelock since 1754 and by 1763 must have been exceptionally well educated in the classical languages and theology. The 1763 event that precipitated the rupture followed the conclusion of the French and Indian War. Wheelock had been instructing Wooley for nine years, spanning the period when military actions along and beyond the frontier were most violent. The first letter transcribed here, written by Joseph Fish from Stonington, Connecticut was in response to a letter from Wheelock that had been dated 7 December 1763. Stonington is located about 25 miles southeast of Lebanon, and about six or seven miles east of the mouth of the Thames River. Stonington is along the coast fully 50 miles east of New Haven.

In 1763 the famous Indian scholar named Samson Occom (Occom 1982, Love 2000), noted above, continued as a notable success in his profession, although as an "Indian" he was much abused in salary and treatment. He and his family were continually mistreated by Wheelock (Lavin 2013: 343), revealing the essence of race relations at that time. His situation may have stimulated a general departure of Lenopi from the school.

Joseph Fish's letter is transcribed here in full, followed by Wheelock's answer. Fish's writing is somewhat more difficult for me to decipher than Wheelock's, and I first read the name as "Fisk." I have placed in brackets sections that I could not decode, with an effort to replicate what I believe that I see. Most superscripts have been ignored in this transcription. The carrier of

these letters was an individual named “David” but no further information in these two documents provides an identification for him. Whether he was an enslaved person or employee, or perhaps a local Native, is not evident (cf. Becker 2018, also 2015). However, we do know that Wheelock owned at least one slave and I believe that “David” fell into that category. We also learn from a letter of 8 July 1767 that the Indians in that region remained extremely unreliable carriers of the mail (McCallum 1932: 55) a persistent regional problem that had been noted in that same region during the previous century (see Grandjean 2015).

Joseph Fish’s letter to Wheelock is written on a sheet of paper measuring about 12 by 16 inches that has been folded in half to create 4 sides, each measuring about 8 by 12 inches.

Wheelock Papers (WP) 763659: Dartmouth College Archives

“

Stonington Dec. 9, 1763

Very Dear Rev.d Sir,

Your favour of the 7.th per David on a most affecting [coby]sit is most gratefully acknowledge. You [sightey jirdy- crea] [fuime] to the Indian cause, to your School, to yourself, and (Shape) no less [to] Christ. As [I ask] I lay aside all Restraint, and (having but a few minutes) just print a word, first of intelligence, and then of sentiment. As soon as a his[use] day offered on my return from New Haven, I visited Secutor at his Indian Town: [industriously]. Sought and found Jacob Wooley. In our walk together to lecture, sat awn and talked a part of an hour. Hinted to him my acquaintance in some measure with his situation; a more particular account of which I have from Rev. Mr. Whitaker than from yourself. Desired him to open his mind to me freely, as to an assured Friend. Jacob was sparing of talk, but told me that he was under great discouragements, and that he have as hope a prospect of its ever being better &c or like it. I told him, though his case might be extremely difficult, yet within reach of sovereign grace – that his character was not irreproachable; that there was room for him to return and recover as much as he had lost. His friends, acquaintances and all the lovers of Christ and the Truth, would readily receive him to return and favour and forgive all that’s past: whose hearts were now moved with pity and compassion for him. And if poor simpel men had such a tender and forgiving spirit towards him, how much was the Father of mercies. therefore be encouraged to return &c. At this Jacob was consoled, big silent tears flowing down his cheeks, [even] full of Rhetoric. I pitied him. My heart flowed with tenderness towards him. I advised him to repair to your house and school, which, after lecture, he told me he should next morning. On David’s information and your letter ([di Mo]) I went to ~~the~~ our Indian Town last night – found Jacob there again – talked with him – he behaved decently – told me he would be at my house to day, and meet David here, but is not come –

- [2] perhaps the rain and corser temptations S[ercocot]. I critically enquired of Indians and white nieghbours of his conduct, while there so long – could not hear one word of any thing visious or [even inclement] while among our own Indians: only the house that he kept at was of bad fame. But here, for want of time, David [will] tell you particulars.

Now, Dear Sir, let my freedom as to sentiment be taken as Kindly and inoffensively as if you and I were talking together by the fire side. I think that branch of discipline which you administered in respect to the Indian Blankit was quite natural, well chosen, and beautifully applied as he had left the seat of – the [Muses], and [bir]serd with Indians (little better than Savages) thereby expressing his polite [cd]mation – and perhaps

this would have been a sufficient mortification, humbling enough, and an argument much more forcible than stripes. I now [is] [sond] and blind that I cannot see the Propriety and decency and include the final uselessness of blows and whips upon young men – even grown to maturity at Colleges or church, such discipline [licons] to the assigned for and adapted only (to [besenem] diversity) to boys of a lower form, - to vassals, negroes and other sordid slaves, when nothing else will do. But in Jacob's case I cannot think it suitable or salutary – ever so conscious as he is of being in a deplorable case - so sunk in spirit and so discouraged, and at the same time So tender as he appeared to me, I am apt to think can never be whipped into true life and regular conduct. Nor does it occur to me that he will ever get enlargement by prisons and chains. I should think, could you know him again, that other frowns and tokens of displeasure at his

- [3] conduct, exhibiting underneath [sherse incroy] yet to be obtained, would more likely work kindly and effect a recovery. The reverse, I fear, will but confirm him in his awful conclusion ([deifro]) that not only his character is irrecoverably gone, but that there is no mercy for him with God [i crises] he finds is little with [nicu]. The obligations to love and respect you are beyond all common instances, but I fear that further scarcity will give him a fixed dis[like] to you and School. On the whole, I int[end], if possible, to get him to my house a few days or a week, and see what I can do to persuade his return to you, and propose to (if opportunity) to keep him at proper distance – labour his conviction and [memory], which would greatly rejoice me. Pray write me again and reprove me with all freedom. Any thing from you, and in so much haste as I write, will be the most kindly and gratefully recieved, by, Dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and brother,
Joseph Fish

PS. David cannot stay any longer.

- [4] Joseph Fish
Dec. 9, 1763”

The name Secutor (also Seketer, Sickerton and Sequettass: see Love 1899) is well known among the Narragansett of Charleston, Rhode Island. I suspect that the “Secutor at his Indian Town” who is mentioned was David Seketer who led a small Narragansett community near Charlestown in December of 1763. David Seketer was the father of John Seketer, who in 1763 had two young children, Mary and John [Jr.]. Mary was enrolled at Moor's School in that year, but whether before or after the Joseph Fish visit is not known. Her brother John was sent to the school in 1767. The elder John Secutor [sic] wrote to Wheelock on 31 March 1767 to request that he dissuade Mary from becoming engaged to Calvin (Dartmouth College Archives, Doc. 767231; cf. Love 1899). The word “stripes” used on the second page of this letter refers to marks left by a lashing.

On the front page, in the left margin and written in another hand, appears “President Wheelock Dec^r 1763.” The folded letter also bears, on the over fold, the following: “The inclosed I send unsealed that you may read it. After that, pray Sine & Send it.” Wooley had been with Wheelock since about 1754, and readers may note that Wheelock does not include his name in this letter;

perhaps being so emotionally upset as to blank out Jacob Wooley's name from the communication. Wheelock Papers (WP) 763666.2: Dartmouth College Archives. Wheelock to Fish.

“

Leb.ⁿ 16.th Dec.^r 1763

Rev.^d & D.^r Br.

I've only a minute to acknowledge y.r Fav.r by David. Where in I am much pleased with the uncliscombld marks of a plain heart & Sincere Br.

I perfectly agree with y.r notions of Discipline in gen.l but is yre no Exception

I hope you would ha' enquired of David but as soon as I read y.r Let.r perceived you had not. Had you known W.s any tenderness trew.or that Dear youth Supposs in my Acc.t go would not only ha' In[tensi]fied My conduct, but ha' Seen the Absolute necessi.ty of it.

Hardy y.u heard the argum.ts Inticaties, everything moving and living within my Pow.r, which his Scores of [Pines] caused his Tears to flow and had you [faced] the Interchangeable Express.ns and Evid.es of Injuste pride had y.ou heard his horrid Blasphemies ag.st Heaven, Imprecations of [harm.ll] upon himself, Threat.gs of Veng.e Upon one and anoth.r without Provocation. had Y.o Seen his Contempt of all authority, and Deafness to all Intreaties – and y.e Terror which [Bey] Fam. of School have been put into for fear of [Power] then – in so much y.t one Pre[cur]b.r of it Was Confined in a Neighbours House for part of a Day and a Night &c, &c --- horribila dictu --- and when noth.g wo.d avail he Was told y.e Extreame Course must and should be used, and all this horrid scene before the School, tho' to this day a Secret in the Neighbourhood ---

His Con[sci]ence testifies that Necessity compel.d me to it and

That

[2] that I had rath.r had born y.t Smart myself two times over, than ha' Inflicted in Sence of Duty to God to him, to my School, I to Y.e Chistian [sic] World had not compelled me to it. ---nor has any thing appeared to humble & tame him till Severity was threatened, he came home Expecting it, & knew he had bound me to it --- and it was doubtless that made that appearance in him with moved your heart toward him. Yet there is that in his Case w.c is extremely Affecting, & moves Every tender Passion in my Soul --- be he must be Subjected to proper goverment or there is no Living with him, and when that is Done he will find all the [Porrellels], & tendernesss of a Father in me as he has done. –

I cant give him over. I Persuade myself God will yet humble him and make him an Instrm.t of much glory to his great Name. I've had him in my arms and upon my Heart this five years, he is Naturally as pretty a Child as ever I saw – but [I have] had enough to Ruin a Nation out of Love and Fondness towards him at College --- I am as ready to forgive him, and I forget all y.t has been pass.d as he can be to Confess, and reform –

By flying Reports I Supposed his Conduct among You had been Such as I have represented on [tha.d] [Nos] ha' mentioned Prison &c – I am glad to hear that he behaved well –

I write in utmost hast and am

Your Very cordial Broth.r &c

Eleaz.r Wheelock

Rev'd Jos. Fish

If I had time face to face I wd
open y.e Whole Scene to You --- ”

The reference to “much glory to his great Name” may be to the glory of God, although the possibility exists that Wheelock was referring to this boy’s family name: Wooley. Wooley (Woolley, etc.) was the name of an important eighteenth-century Lenopi family of which several members continued to be resident in southern New Jersey into the 1800s, and beyond.

LENOPI STUDENTS AT MOOR’S CHARITY SCHOOL

A listing of the 89 Indians who entered Moor’s Charity School from 1754 until 1779, when Wheelock died, is provided by McCallum (1932: Appendix A). The seven “Delaware” (all Lenopi) who attended are here listed in order of their entry dates; all between 1754 and 1762. The tribal origins of Benjamin Towsey, who entered in 1772 (McCallum 1932: 245) remain unknown, although Calloway (2010: App. I) identifies him as from Stockbridge. Most likely he came from a New England group, but the origins of the people at Stockbridge were varied. The students believed to be Lenopi are as follow:

John Pumshire [Pumpshire] (1740 - 1757)

Entered the school in 1754. Some years later John Pumshire “Went home ill” (Calloway 2010: 188), where he died in 1757. This event is reported in a 1757 letter from John Brainerd in New Jersey to Wheelock in Connecticut, recording the death of this young man while he was among his Lenopi kin (McCallum 1932: 29, 31). John Pumpshire [sic] Cawkeeponen, identified as a “Jersey Delaware Indian” when he served as a translator for the Lenopi attending treaties at Easton in Pennsylvania, within Lenape territory, probably was the father of this deceased student (see Calloway 2010: 6). Calloway believes that the young John had ridden a horse home from Connecticut and that the same horse was ridden by Joseph Woolley and Hezekiah Calvin up to the school when they entered in April of 1757. Joseph Woolley was a cousin of Jacob Woolley (see below).

Jacob Woolley (1743 - ?)

Entered in 1754 along with John Pumshire. Jacob went on, at a later date, to attend the College of New Jersey, now Princeton (McCallum 1932: 249-254). A total of only 7 of the 89 Native students who entered Wheelock’s school went on to colleges, and of those only three graduated. Jacob Woolley was among the four who did not graduate from a college (see below).

Joseph Woolley (1737 or 1739? - 1766)

Joseph, a “cousin” of Jacob Woolley, entered the school on 9 April 1757. Calloway (2010: 6) claims that by July 1758 the three Lenopi boys were said to have “almost shaken off the Indian.” Joseph became one of Wheelock’s most learned scholars. By 1761 he was reported to be reading “Tully,” Virgil and the Greek Testament “very handsomely” (McCallum 1932: 263), skills that were basic requirements for admission to colleges. In 1764 he joined Samuel Kirkland as a missionary to the Six Nations. At Onohoquaga in New York he had more than 20 students. Being vaccinated, he survived the smallpox epidemic of 1765, but he died of tuberculosis in 1766 (McCallum 1932: 263-275).

Joseph Woolley’s activities are little known. He had been at Johnson Hall, the manor house built by Sir William Johnson in the heart of Mohawk country, on 6 July 1765, where a group of

Shawnee and “Delaware” [Lenape] were confirming a “Covenant Chain” agreement [treaty]. Joseph noted that two days earlier he had seen “Captain Killbuck Chief of the Dellawares” at Johnson Hall. Killbuck was a Lenape leader whose specific group of Lenape had been allied with the Shawnee since their residence, in separate communities, along the Lower Susquehanna River during the period from ca 1700 to after 1730 (see Becker 2020). Killbuck had Woolley interpret “those letters & the Parchment in which the Covenant was written...” from English to Lenape, which is linguistically very close to Lenopi. Joseph, in his letter of 6 July to Wheelock (McCallum 1932: 266), also wrote that Killbuck had invited Woolley to come to live at his home at Allegheny. Joseph declined saying “But I have Discouragements from those that have been there” (McCallum 1932: 267). These Native settlements beyond the Allegheny will be mentioned below.

Joseph Woolley’s references to Captain Killbuck make no reference to a kinship connection; another demonstration that the Lenopi were culturally distinct from the Lenape (see Becker 2008). Regarding Joseph’s kin, his letter of 6 July 1765 also provides significant information concerning his kinsman Jacob Woolley. At Sheffield (southeastern Massachusetts?) a man called out to him, and Joseph cautiously engaged him in conversation. The man told him that he had been one of Wheelock’s students after which he had attended the Jersey College, and then returned to Wheelock’s. Later he ran “away from him & went into the Service.” Joseph wrote that he thought that this man “was Cousin Jacob Wooley [sic]” (McCallum 1932: 268). Apparently Joseph did not acknowledge to the man a possible kinship, and perhaps the man did not recognize him. Jacob may have been among the Lenopi who had joined Sir William Johnson’s private militia. Later records make reference to “Joseph Woolley one of the Delaware Tribe ... and a girl of the same tribe” but without note of any relationships or context (McCallum 1932: 70).

Hezekiah Calvin (1748 - ?)

Hezekiah also entered Moor’s School on 9 April 1757, along with Joseph Woolley. Brainerd describes him as “a smart little fellow” but that he “will want taking care of. He loves to play, and will leave his hat in one place and his mittens in another” (Calloway 2010: 6; 207 n. 27, from 1763: 30-31, McCallum 1932: 83; see also the Wheelock 1760 letter of 1 Dec). Hezekiah Calvin’s relations with Wheelock were uneven, at best, and alcohol appears to have been a major problem (McCallum 1932: 47, 255). He did go on to become a schoolmaster among the Mohawk (cf. Axtell 1984: 59) but seems to have been as poorly provisioned as all the other Natives who passed through Wheelock’s school, regardless of their academic success. On 11 August 1765 Calvin wrote to Wheelock asking that some “Stokins” be sent to him, apparently to be carried “by David Fowler” (McCallum 1932: 52). This may be the “David” noted in other contexts. In Wheelock’s letter to John Brainerd about that time we learn that Hezekiah Calvin might wish to marry Mary Secutor, the young Narragansett woman who since 1763 had been a student of Wheelock (see above). Mary never married Calvin, a match that would have been an inappropriate cultural alliance, but possibly a union desired by Calvin for her higher status.

Hezekiah Calvin seems to have left his teaching post in New York in 1768 and relocated to Charlestown in the Rhode Island colony. Apparently, he was still interested in Mary Secutor. In a letter written for Calvin, but penned by Edward Deane, the claim is made that Wheelock took goods meant for the Indians as well as the value of, or payment for the work of Mary Secutor and Sarah Simon “as if they were your Slaves” (McCallum 1932: 67). From all evidence these allegations seem probable. We also learn that Mary Secutor decided not to marry Hezekiah Calvin, but the reasons are not known. In a letter of March 1769, transcribed below, Wheelock reports hearing that Calvin was in prison.

Miriam Storrs

Entered in 1761, left by 1764. Miss Storrs (also Miss Stor) was described as a “very likely youth” and entered the school in September of 1761 as the second female student from the Lenopi. Calloway (2010: 7) suggests a total of 19 females ultimately were among the school’s student population, coming from various tribes. They all lived in private homes and their “training” as scholars might more accurately be described as indentured servitude. Miriam Storrs remained for three years. After that period she vanished from the record except for one known letter that she sent to Wheelock dated “New York Novbr 24 1768.” She had arrived in New York [city?] on 19 November but offers no biographical information (see McCallum 1932: 239).

Enoch Closs

Entered in 1762. He “Ran away” from school in 1765 (Calloway 2010: 188). Thomas Peace (pers. Comm. 25 June 2020) suggests that the name Closs may be a variant spelling of the name Clause. Lenopi with the name “Clause” may be related to Natives on the Pennsylvania northern frontier at later dates.

Samuel Tallman: 1762-1767 (Calloway 2010: 188)

Love (2000: 69-70) says that after Tallman left school, he became a carpenter and lived with a group of New England Indians. He later was identified as living at Stockbridge in Massachusetts. Tallman appears to have joined the specific group of Native-descent people at Stockbridge who relocated to Brothertown, a community they formed on lands granted to them by the Oneida in New York.

The family names Closs and Tallman are unfamiliar to me from my studies of the Lenopi in New Jersey. Enoch and Samuel were the last Lenopi to be involved with Wheelock’s academic ventures.

The difficulties of training students born and raised within hunting and gathering societies, or in basic horticultural cultures such as the various Five Nations, are well described by Wheelock himself. Their cultural orientations were strongly in contradistinction to the lifeways of the colonists. Whether his Iroquoian students, coming from horticultural cultures, adapted any better than the hunting and gathering Lenopi has not been addressed. Problems with student use of alcohol were common, and even the impressive Samson Occom seems to have wrestled with this issue. A letter from Wheelock to Occom, dated 9 March 1769, just before Wheelock relocated to Hanover, is offered here. This letter, originally folded, now is in the Dartmouth College Wheelock Papers, 769209.2.

OBVERSE: “D^r Wheelock
To Occum
March 9, 1769
On Drunkenness”

REVERSE: “Lebanon 9th March 1769”

“My dear Sir.

There is an ugly report bruted of you in Windham by M.^r Prosper Wetmore of Chilsey. i e it is Said to come from him bir. That You Was over taken with excessive

Drunking at Chilsey near the Time you was here – and y.t you had been Several Times disguised by it – I gave no credit to it & told [abc] I hear discourse about it, that I believed there was no truth in it. If it be fact indeed, it is Sad indeed, and a greater Wound to Christ and his Course than your former Error.

I heant Abundant to See You to converse relative to your designed Tour into the Wilderness this Spring – for many Reasons I think it Will be best You sho^d go as Soon as the Ways & Season will permit – And it would be best you Should be there while Miss^t Johnson and Kirtland are at Home that you might Supply the Oneidas in part While the are from them – John Mathews give Some Grounds to hope he has met with a Saving Change. I hope that he & Abraham Will be useful men - there are near 40 Who have Got a hope Since this late Season of Gods Special Favour towards us began. –

Where is D^r Hanes Daughter Which you gave me reason to expect.e – Have you concluded to take David wth you to erect a School Among the Onondaga, ? -

Do Write Me of these things as Soon as maybe, that I may know what to depend upon.

I hear that poor Calvin has got into Prison at Littlesafe for forging a pass from a Negro. & that it is probable he will fare hardly – I hope God will humble him & do him Good by it - Io. JohnSon hant yet been Seen in these parts - I thing he is going in the Same track With others - I give my loy [sic] to You and Yours. and am

Yours very heartily

Eleazar Wheelock”

[To the] Rev.d SampSon Occom

Later in 1769 the Oneida withdrew all their children from the Moor’s School, as did other of the Five Nations tribes. Wheelock then turned to various tribes resident in Canada in search of students. In Hanover, in 1772, Louis Vincent Sawatanen, a Huron from Lorette in Canada, along with other Huron enrolled at the new location of Moor’s Indian Charity School (McCallum 1932: 296, Peace 2014; see also Wyss 2014). Sawatanen (variously spelled) went on to become the first Native from Canada to be awarded a baccalaureate degree, from Dartmouth (cf. Lainey and Peace 2016). The New Hampshire location, on lands near the homelands of the Eastern tribes, were more attractive to the Huron and to the “Abenaki,” the groups of Eastern Indians who relocated to the west. Between 1770 and 1820 at least 33 Native students from the Laurentian region attended Moor’s School at its new location. Peace (2013) has extracted important information about these students from the numerous letters written by Eleazar Wheelock and his son John, providing their views on these Native peoples and their relationship to education. As with all student populations, the results were varied, but considering the vast cultural differences faced by these students we are not at all surprised.

Also of cultural interest, with regard to Killbuck’s invitation to Joseph Woolley to come to his Lenape settlement in the Allegheny River valley, is the account of David McClure and Levi Frisbie. In May of 1772, soon after they were ordained as ministers they undertook a trip to western Pennsylvania, or the area beyond the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. This region was then filling up with Native hamlets. They intended to preach there and also to seek students from among the “Delaware” and from the many settlements on the Muskingum (cf. Becker 2020). These many hamlets included both Lenape as well as Lenopi groups, but always in separate communities. Their

efforts were a complete failure, but their records provide important data on the cultural integrity that was maintained among these many tribes so recently displaced from east of the rivers.

DISCUSSION

McCallum (1932: 17) states that during the years of Wheelock's efforts to educate Indian children, or at least by 1765, a total of 21 Indian boys, 10 Indian girls, and seven white boys had attended Moor's School. This appears to be a low estimate, far from the 150 students that McClure and Parish (1811: 64) suggest were enrolled there or were in some way associated with the school. Other listings of the numbers of students vary widely (cf. Calloway 2010: App. I). Determining the tribal affiliations, or even if some of these children were Native, often proves difficult. What seems clear is that by the time of the relocation to Hanover, Lenopi children were no longer participating.

A Boston born and largely self-educated lad named Benjamin Franklin (1784) pointed out that the education of Indians, with their vastly different cultural backgrounds, posed particularly difficult challenges. Brands' comments (2000: 221, 700-701) on Franklin's observations also recognize the cultural difficulties. The theme of formal "education" as a culturally defined and restricted, if not closed system is at the core of Thomas Hardy's tragedy, *Jude the Obscure* (1895), in which the stonecutter Jude Fawley yearns for the kind of education available at an English University. His experiences replicate those of most of the Indians who entered Wheelock's world. Wheelock's success with Samson Occom may have inspired Wheelock to undertake the training of Natives as missionaries. Finding many of his students ill-suited to an academic or missionary career, Wheelock used them as laborers in his agricultural fields. The women, being "trained" but one day a week, certainly worked like day laborers (cf. Becker 1990) or servants during most of their period of "training." Wheelock's own ability with classical languages may have been adequate, but his opposition to smallpox vaccination (McCallum 1932: 245) places him amongst the earliest "anti-vaxxers". Allegations regarding his mismanagement of funds appear too often to be dismissed. The extent of his estate at his death indicates that Wheelock's various efforts were financially very rewarding.

Whether the "success" of Wheelock's students differed according to their cultural backgrounds has not been explored. Those of us who have taught for many years often can recall the few successes among our many efforts, finding that the few "successful" students whom we have mentored differed in various ways from the majority of pupils in our classes. Samson Occom's brilliance and his achievements appear to have created a false hope in Wheelock's imagination, dashed by the many failures such as that of Samson's son, Aaron Occom. Aaron was an extremely poor student who entered the school three times in seven years, but never lasted (McCallum 1932: 233). After a dozen years of effort, the indifferent success of Wheelock's venture may have encouraged him down a path to Hanover and to the establishment of Dartmouth College. There he continued to maintain his Charity School as an Indian preparatory institution to act as a feeder to the College. The "success" of that facet of Wheelock's educational endeavors remains to be studied, as do findings regarding the continued mistreatment of his Native charges (see Peyer 1998).

The presence of Native women at Moor's School and how they were educated forms an interesting subject for further research. The inter-cultural marriages among the various students at the school, an unintended disrupting factor, also would be a subject of interest. Hannah Garrett, a

Pequot woman resident among the Narragansett, was at the School from 1763 to 1766. She married a Montauk student named David Fowler who had been there earlier (1759-1761). Whether Ms. Garrett was a descendant of the Pequot slaves given to the Narragansett by the English at the conclusion of the Pequot War (1636-1638), or a more recent arrival is unknown. Details of her kinship group might be important in determining her relationship to the Narragansett, who held numbers of Pequot as slaves. The residence at the school of these many students was not the first challenge to their traditional social organization that they faced, but may reveal much about the formation of social classes in Native communities.

CONCLUSIONS

Review of a series of letters recently identified provide new information regarding Indian education for seven Lenopi children from southern New Jersey who were admitted to Moor's Indian Charity School in Connecticut. In particular, the young Jacob Woolley's efforts to secure a formal education in the world of the English colonists reveal the difficulty faced by all Native people in a world that was rapidly changing around them. These seven Lenopi ventured far from their homes, going up to central Connecticut in the mid-eighteenth century in search of something that was new for members of this culture. Exactly what they sought remains unknown. Their individual stories provide a small indication of the challenges faced by members of a highly acculturated faction of the Lenopi tribe during a period of stressful adjustments to colonial society. Despite their possible interest in a formal education, and the inclinations of their families, the challenges they faced were enormous. The ultimate course of their lives after this experience in Connecticut, and any effects of their experiences, remain to be elicited from the records.

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